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Influence of Cultural Resources of Mothers over Parenting Values in Russian Families

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Abstract

The purpose of the study is a comparative analysis of the complex of economic, cultural and psychological resources of mothers of three groups focused on different values in child rearing (obedience “O”, curiosity “C”, sociability “S”). The study involved 500 mothers selected basing on the criterion of self-identification of their economic status (low and medium), under the age of 45, with children aged from 1.5 to 3 years old. The analysis of the results showed that a quarter of mothers (24.2%) choose obedience as the dominant value of family education. Mothers from group focused on the value of “C”, account for almost half of the sample (47.0%). A third of the respondents are aimed at instilling sociability in children (28.8%). There is a certain impact that disparity in supply of mothers with various resources has on cultivating in children values contributing to a successful adaptation. Mothers instilling in children curiosity and sociability have richer cultural resources. They are also characterized by a more positive self-perception. Resulting differences are explained by both objective factors characteristic for women from the group focused on instilling obedience - a lower level of education, qualifications, financial situation, small social experience, less intensive cultural practices, and by subjective characteristics - a lower self-esteem, self-doubt, insufficient personal maturity. The experience of relationships of mothers with their own parents is further employed in the process of upbringing of children. The paper suggests directions of correction of social and cultural attitudes and strategies of child-rearing.

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1. Introduction

The complex dynamics of the modern society raises requirements to an individual's adaptation abilities. In Russia, as well as all over the world, a need for harmonious interaction of a person with the environment is acquiring a special topicality due to its increasing instability, unpredictability of tendencies of development, appearance of new risk factors. Studies investigating issues of hardiness (Maddi & Kobasa, 1984), resilience (Ionescu, 2006), salutogenesis (Antonovsky, 1979) have shown that the ability to cope with difficult situations to a large extent depends on what position a person holds, on one's searching activities, belief in success, the ability to be the subject of one's own life.

Conditions of family upbringing, namely, parents' focus on certain educational goals and preference of relevant educational strategies, can contribute to or, contrariwise, hinder formation of these qualities in a developing personality. Studies of tendencies in family upbringing, conducted in Russia, have proved that, under new social and cultural conditions, we observe an increased uncertainty of standard educational paradigms, and parents do not always feel competent in upbringing issues. For example, 53% of parents admit that effectiveness of their educational efforts is not high, only 33% of teenagers recognize influence of family on formation of their daily behavior (Merenkov, 2013). According to our data, approximately a third of Saint Petersburg parents have trouble determining the vector of family upbringing (Samoylova, 2014, Bezrukova, 2014). Taking care of their children, a large part of mothers consider it correct to control all aspects of daily life of the children, that is they reproduce paradigms and practices of authoritarian upbringing (Bezrukova & Samoylova, 2015). The situation is getting more complicated due to unequal distribution of public resources, social, cultural and economic differentiation of families, hard living conditions of families with low resources.

There are two major approaches to investigating influence of inequality of families in terms of availability of cultural resources for development and education of children. The first one concerns research of psychological resources of families (parents) and their role in cognitive and emotional development of children, the second one covers studies of cultural resources as a factor of differentiation in the modern society. The former approach lays emphasis on individual and personal characteristics of parents (mothers), the psychological climate in a family, peculiarities of interaction of adults and children, etc. Studies of parents-children (mother-child) attachment at the stage of early childhood (Bowlby & Ainsworth, 1965), interconnection of personal characteristics of children and parents, mistakes in upbringing and the context of family life are of particular significance (Belsky, 1984).

Bourdieu and Passron's theory of reproduction serves as a theoretical framework of the studies focused on influence of cultural factors (Bourdieu & Passron, 1964; Bourdieu, 1966). This approach explains the notion of cultural capital of a family (Bourdieu, 1966; Kingston, 2001; Sullivan, 2001), class-specific models of parenting (Kohn, 1969; Lareau, 2003), etc. In accordance with the concept of the cultural capital cultural resources of a family are considered in the context of class-differentiation of parenting practices. Children from families, differing in education and status of parents, undergo inhomogeneous cultural socialization and acquire differing values, skills, motivation and attitudes to studying. For instance, M. Kohn in his study, dedicated to differences in styles of child rearing in a family, showed the connection of current professional activities, complexity of the surrounding operation environment of parents with their socialization strategies (Kohn, 1969). Working class parents whose activities are routine and strictly controlled build their relations with children focusing on values of conformism, such as obedience, precision and politeness. Parents working in spheres that require independent decision-making and self-control first of all strive to instill in their children values of autonomous activity, curiosity and self-control. In his studies Lareau showed that differences in economic, cultural and social resources, interconnected with class positions and statuses of parents, as well as their values concerning childhood, determine various parenting models and practices. In this vein, middle class parents, creating a special environment for development of their children, carry out organized (concerted) cultivation, whereas working class parents prefer a natural type of parenting - accomplishment of natural growth (Lareau, 2003).

Thus, the issue of influence of inequality in provision of various resources for mothers instilling in children values contributing to successful adaptation in a complex society is of urgent social interest. The purpose of the study was a comparative analysis of the complex of economic, cultural and psychological resources of mothers of three groups focused on different values in child rearing (obedience "O", curiosity "C", sociability "S").

Research Questions. Are there any differences between groups of mothers choosing different parenting values?

How does the specifics of cultural resources manifest in groups under consideration? What psychological factors are educational attitudes and practices of mothers connected with? What is the level of their economic resources? Which directions of development of cultural resources of motherhood are relevant in the conditions of social differentiation of families in the modern Russian society?

2. Method

2.1 Respondents

The study involved 500 mothers, chosen on the basis of the criterion of self-identification of the economic level (low or middle), under 45 years of age, with children aged 1.5 to 3. In the study, economic resources stood for a set of material goods in the possession of a family, including total income, property security, housing situation, together with an assessment of the subjective consumer status.

2.2. Instruments

The direct questioning method was used to obtain primary information - a one-to-one interview with registration of answers of respondents to questions posed by the interviewer, in accordance with purposes and objectives of the study. The interview included closed questions. When answering a closed question the respondent was supposed to choose the most appropriate answer (one or several) out of those offered. A statistical analysis of data was performed using the SPSS package.

The questionnaire was comprised of the following blocks of questions: (1) social and demographic characteristics: age, education, family and professional status, (2) structure of the family (nuclear or extended), marital status of parents (normative, step, single-parent family), fecundity of the family; (3) economic resources of the family (family income, property security, living conditions, subjective assessment of the consumer status, (4) cultural resources of the family (cultural and educational competences, cultural practices); (5) attitudes and rearing practices of mothers/fathers.

3. Results

The sequence of presentation of research results corresponds to the sequence of research questions.

3.1. The cultural resources of mothers in the study groups

What does the specifics of cultural resources in the study groups of mothers manifest itself in? In the study, cultural resources of motherhood were regarded as a set of educational and cultural competences, knowledge of cultural practices, including foreign languages, computer literacy, modern practices of self-education, interest in music, theater, painting, creative activities. The structure of the cultural resources of motherhood is complemented by expressive and instrumental personal traits contributing to women's involvement in the parental role, as well as to obtaining a balance of professional and family responsibilities.

Table 1 contains a distribution of answers to items characterizing cultural resources of mothers choosing different educational attitudes. On the whole, interests and ways of spending leisure time most often include communication with friends (65.3%), communication on the Internet and watching television (40.4% each). Every third mother said she loves traveling (27.3%) and one in five is interested in sports, goes to the pool or fitness center (20.2%). Much less frequently mothers are engaged in self-education, additional education (11.7%), sew and knit (10.9%), are keen on art, painting, visit exhibitions, theater performances, go to the philharmonic, concerts, cinema (8.5%), and learn foreign languages (6.3%). Only 1.1% of the respondents has no hobbies.

According to the results of the research mothers choosing different values of family education ("O", "C", "S") (Table 1) have different cultural resources. Mothers, focused on instilling in children sociability, an ability to establish friendly relations with people most often like to travel (30.5%), read classical and modern literature (25.7%), are engaged in self-education, additional education (15.2% vs. 7.9% in group "O" and 11.6% in group "C"). Apparently, they have not only deeper and more varied interests, but also opportunities for their realization. In contrast to others, women in this group are more often interested in art, painting, visit exhibitions, theater performances, go to the philharmonic, concerts, cinema (16.2% vs. 4.5% in group "O" and 5.8% in group "C"), do sports, go to the swimming pool, fitness centers (24.9% vs. 20.2% in group "O" and 18.6% in group "C").

Table 1 – Distribution of answers to the question: “What are you most fond of in life, what do you love doing apart from work and rearing of the child (children)?” (%)

	Sample on the whole	Obedience	Curiosity	Sociability
I communicate with friends	65.3	61.8	72.1	57.1
I am fond of watching TV	40.4	50.6	36.0	39.0
I am fond of surfing the Internet, visiting interesting websites, reading and writing in blogs	40.4	39.3	40.1	41.9
I am fond of travelling	27.3	25.8	26.2	30.5
I read classical and modern literature	22.1	15.7	23.3	25.7
I do sports, go to the swimming pool, fitness center	20.2	20.2	18.6	24.9
I am engaged in self education and additional education	11.7	7.9	11.6	15.2
I am fond of sewing and knitting	10.9	12.4	9.9	11.4
I am fond of arts, painting, visit exhibitions, theatre performances, go to the philharmonic, concerts, cinema	8.5	4.5	5.8	16.2
I learn languages	6.3	6.7	5.8	6.7
I have no hobbies	1.1	2.2	0.6	1.0

Mothers aimed at instilling curiosity in children more often communicate with friends (72.1%). Mothers who choose their child’s obedience as the main purpose of their educational efforts are most often characterized by passive pastime - watching television (50.6%).

An affordable cultural practice, such as reading of classical and modern literature, is more typical for mothers aimed at instilling sociability and curiosity in comparison to those who chose obedience (25.7% and 23.3% vs. 15.7%). However, slightly more than half of the mothers of the latter group have in their home a library up to 100 books (56.8% vs. 86.0% in group “L” and 81.7% in group “S”), and more than a third of the mothers (39,8%) do not have any books at all. Thus, mothers expecting obedience from their children, more rarely read books, for various reasons, including absence of books.

3.2. Self-assessment of the personal traits

Effective parenting, as well as a successful career in the modern society, is largely stipulated by individual competence of a person. Self-assessment of the level of development of expressive and instrumental personal traits was investigated with the help of the question: “Which of the qualities listed below can you for certain attribute to yourself, and which can’t you?” (Table 2). The interviewed mothers in all three groups said that their parenting qualities are stronger than instrumental qualities important for their professional activities. The first six most significant characteristics are the same in all groups, but the frequency of positive responses of women from groups “L” and “S” is much higher. Statistically significant differences between responses of mothers were detected in connection with such qualities as *sensitivity*, *tenderness* (99.4% and 96.2% vs. 86.5%), *love for children* (94.8% and 96.2% vs. 77.5%), *kindness* (97.7% and 97.1% vs. 90.9%), *responsibility* (97.7% and 98.0% vs. 92.0%), *the ability to take care of the family* (94.2% and 92, 4% vs. 74.2%), *empathy* (90.7% and 91.4% vs. 80.7%).

Women from groups aimed at instilling curiosity and sociability more often named qualities that allow you to quickly adapt to changing conditions of life and meet modern requirements to social competence of an individual. Among them: *willingness to meet requirements of the rapidly changing world* (89.6% and 84.0% vs. 73.0%), *communicative competence*, *an ability to communicate and get along with people* (87.76% and 85.7% vs. 73.0%), *self-education*, *mastering new skills* (85.5% and 83.8% vs. 66.3%), *willingness to take risks neglecting a fear of finding oneself in the minority* (76.7% and 82.9% vs. 69.7%), *proactiveness*, *entrepreneurship*, *competitiveness* (65.1% and 69.2% vs. 60.7%). Furthermore, mothers from group “C”, compared to those from group “S”, a bit more often characterized themselves as more flexible and adaptive and noted in themselves *willingness to meet requirements of the rapidly changing world* (89.6% vs. 84.0%). Women aimed at sociability, on the opposite, gave a higher evaluation of their opportunities in professional achievements and estimated higher such qualities as

proactiveness, entrepreneurship, competitiveness (69.2% vs. 65.1%) and willingness to take risks neglecting the fear of finding oneself in the minority (82, 9% vs. 76.7%).

Table 2 – Distribution of answers to the question: “Which of the qualities listed below can you for certain attribute to yourself, and which can’t you?” (responses “Yes”) (%)

		Sample on the whole	Obedience	Curiosity	Sociability
1	Responsibility	96.4	92.0	97.7	98.0
2	Kindness	95.9	90.9	97.7	97.1
3	Sensitivity, tenderness	95.4	86.5	99.4	96.2
4	Love for children	91.0	77.5	94.8	96.2
5	Ability to take care of the family	88.8	74.2	94.2	92.4
6	Empathy	88.5	80.7	90.7	91.4
7	Willingness to meet requirements of the rapidly changing world	84.0	73.0	89.6	84.0
8	Communicative competence, an ability to communicate and get on with people	83.6	73.0	87.7	85.7
9	Self-education, mastering new skills	80.3	66.3	85.5	83.8
10	Willingness to take risks, neglecting a fear of finding oneself in the minority	76.8	69.7	76.7	82.9
11	Proactiveness, entrepreneurship, competitiveness	65.2	60.7	65.1	69.2

Thus, first of all, the total sample shows that mothers higher evaluate their expressive parenting qualities in comparison to instrumental ones, allowing meeting changes in the modern society higher. Secondly, mothers from the group aimed at obedience, in comparison to mothers from the other groups, give a significantly lower estimate of both their expressive mother qualities and instrumental ones. Further, the most significant differences are found in such qualities as love for children, an ability to take care of the family, empathy. Among instrumental characteristics - self-education, mastering new skills, communicative competence, an ability to communicate and get along with people, a desire to meet requirements of the rapidly changing world, willingness to take risks neglecting the fear of finding oneself in the minority.

3.3. The parents-children relationship

Accumulation of cultural resources of motherhood begins long before the birth of children, and the origins of a woman’s attitude to her own children are to be sought in her life experience in the parents’ family. On the whole, the sample shows that the majority of women (84.2%), answering the question “What relations between you and your mother predominated in your childhood?” characterized these relations as rather “warm, close and tender”, 13.6 % - as “neutral”, and 2.2% - as “aloof and cold”. Inter-group differences indicate that practically all women aimed at instilling curiosity in children, experienced warmth and emotional support from the mother (95.3%), among those focused on sociability, the vast majority had the same support (87.7%), while among mothers who value obedience, the corresponding percentage is lower (58.4%). On the opposite, the latter much more often talked about neutral relations with their mothers (33.7% vs. 11.3% from the “sociable” group, and 4.7% from the “curious” group). 7.9% of them mentioned aloofness, coldness in relations, in the two other groups, this indicator is equal to zero.

Even less warmth and support did they feel from their fathers. Only 48.9% of them characterized relations with fathers in childhood as warm, close and tender (vs. 83.6% in group “C” and 80.2% in group “S”). Neutral relations were abundant (37.5%), while in the two other groups this ratio was more than half as high (15.8% and 17.9% respectively). Every seventh woman (or 13.6%) as a child experienced aloofness and coldness from her parents (the Father), in the other groups - less than 2%.

Answering the question about relations with their child, practically all mothers from groups focused on values of curiosity and sociability, characterize them as “warm, close and tender” 98.3% and 98.1%, while in the group of mothers aimed at obedience, this ratio is lower (84.3%), and every sixth respondent says that the relations are “rather neutral” (15.7%).

Gender differences in the relationship of parents with their children were quite expected and the attitude of fathers

is, on the whole, less emotional than that of mothers. Neutral relations between the father and the child are more frequent, in comparison with the other groups, in families where children are expected to be obedient (19.3% vs. 7.1% and 5.8%), and 6.0% of the fathers from these families are characterized by aloofness and coldness towards the child. Thus, in every fourth family aimed at obedience as a value, the father is not involved in the emotional contact with the child, in the other two groups, the proportion of such fathers is three times smaller (about 8%).

3.4. *The differences in economic and structural resources*

The analysis of the data suggests that families of the groups under consideration have significant differences in economic and structural resources. Further, mothers from the group focused on obedience more often than other mothers described their economic conditions as modest. They less frequently said that the family had advanced household appliances (66.3% vs. 90.8% in group “C” and 90.6% in group “S”), a computer (83.1% vs. 97.1% in group “C” and 99.1% in group “S”). Living conditions of these families are worse than those of the others. Only 64.0% of the respondents have their own apartment (vs. 75.1% in group “C” and 82.1% in group “S”), and more than a third share their apartment with their parents/relatives (36.0% vs. 23.5% in group “S”). The income of a family in this group more frequently consists of a salary earned in state owned companies (62.9%). Though half of the mothers from this group work and contribute to the family budget (58.4% vs. 37.0% in group “C” and 33.0% in group “S”), 41.6% of women ranked their family as under-privilege, the monthly income per family member is a bit more than the minimum living wage (vs. 32.9% in group “C” and 32.1% in group “S”).

Mothers in this group are more often younger and less educated. Despite the fact that half of the women have vocational secondary education (49.4%), among those aimed at obedience the number of people with high school education was the highest (21.3% vs. 12.7% in group “C” and 8.5% in group “S”). One in five women in this group is under the age of 20 years (22.5%). The extended type of family, where young parents live together with non-working pensioners, disabled people, is a risk factor for the total family income. Families of this type, where parents, children and other relatives live together, make up a considerable share – 39.3%. Together with this, this group more often features single mothers with children (5.6% vs. 2.9% in group “C” and 3.8% in group “S”). A characteristic feature is the fact that one in five women in this group are not married (18.8% vs. 5.3% in group “C” and 8.7% in group “S”), or their marriage is not officially registered (10.6% and 11.2% vs. 6.7% in group “S”). Among those aimed at values of obedience, similarly to in group “C”, there appeared to be more women not officially married (10.6% and 11.2%). Mothers in this group are more likely than others to have only one child (82.0%).

In the group of mothers aimed at curiosity in comparison with the other groups, there are more poor families, the income per person in these families equals or is lower than the minimum cost of living (33.0% vs. 15.7% in group “O” and 17.9% in group “S”). On the contrary, the group focused on sociability, has the biggest number of well-to-do families. One-fifth of families in this group have an income twice as big as the minimum cost of living per person (19.8% in group “S” vs. 10.4% in group “C”). Among them, there are also more of those whose monthly income per family member is five times higher than the minimum cost of living (16.0% vs. 6.7% in group “O” and 8.7% in group “C”).

At the same time, mothers from groups aimed at “C” and “S” more often than those valuing “O”, said that their family has an apartment (75.1% and 82.1%), furniture (94.8% and 95.3%), advanced household appliances (90.8% and 90.6%), a computer (97.1% and 99.1%). Families focused on values of sociability more often than the others have a foreign car (50.0%) and an apartment (82.1%).

Women aimed at “C” and “S” noted that the family budget is mainly build through employment in private enterprises and organizations (69.4% and 66.0%). At the same time, women from these groups were more often engaged in household or on maternity leave (57.2% in group “C” and 62.3% in group “S” vs. 38.3% in group “O”).

It also appeared that these families more often have other sources of income: financial help from parents (24.3% in group “C” and 23.6% in group “S” vs. 16.9% in group “O”). Mothers from group “C” also get financial support from relatives (10.4% in group “C” vs. 4.5% in group “O” and 3.8% in group “S”). They also, along with the women from the group focused on “S” mentioned, as their additional income, child benefits (44.5% vs. 28.1% in group “O” and 33.0% in group “S”). Furthermore, among those focused on curiosity, there appeared more mothers who get social benefits (for families with low income, single-parent and large families, families with a disabled child) (32.2% vs. 23.6% in group “O” and 17.9% in group “S”).

A distinctive feature of the group focused on curiosity is also a significant share of people under 20 years of age

(25.4%), while the group valuing “S” features older women - 20-24 years of age (38.7%) and 30-34 years of age (15.1%). In group “C”, there are more people with secondary vocational education (51.4%), while in group aimed at “S” there are more people with higher education (48.1% vs. 28.1% in group “O” and 35.3% in group “C”). The marital status of mothers in groups “S” and “C” is characterized by the fact that the respondents from these groups were more likely to mention their marital status (83.7% and 83.5%), while in the group valuing “O”, such women amounted to only 67.1%.

Families of mothers from the group choosing values “C” are compositionally more often extended type families where parents live together with children and relatives (37.0%). In contrast, in the group of women who value “S”, three-quarters of families are nuclear, where only parents and children live together (70.8%). Mothers from the group aimed at “S” more often have two children (27.4%), and those choosing “C” are more likely to have three or more children (2.9%).

4. Discussion of Results

The middle class, that is people who due to their education and professional skills were able to adapt to the conditions of the modern market economy and to provide their children and families with a high quality of life, is the economic basis of any nation. The innovative economy and an active social policy largely contribute to a new quality of life for families, availability of public resources and a growth of the middle class in the social structure of the Russian society. Despite the decline in the number of poor people in recent years compared to the 90-s, a tenth of Russian young families remain poor and in need of social support. Economic and social resources of poor families do not contribute to accumulation of the cultural capital of children, reducing opportunities necessary for comprehensive personal development. According to the research conducted in Russia, focus on the needs of survival reduces the possibility of parents to devote sufficient time to communication and games with children, comfortable and developing leisure activities, development of interest – their own and those of the child (Bezrukova & Samoylova, 2015).

The research task was to determine whether there are any differences in the level and content of cultural and economic resources between groups of mothers choosing different values of family education (“obedience”, “curiosity” and “sociability”). In the research, family education was regarded as an organized activity of parents aimed at reproducing and developing in children family and social culture, including values, socially important attitudes, motivation, skills and practices, as well as methods for their transfer and development.

The analysis of the results showed that a quarter of mothers (24.2%) choose obedience as the dominant value of family education. Mothers from the group focused on the values of “O” appeared to be younger and, therefore, less educated. Families in which they live most often are characterized by risk factors of falling into the category of the poor. The extended family type, high dependency load of family, single motherhood, work in public sector enterprises are also typical for them. Their families are characterized by instability of family relations. Every fifth woman from this group is single, and a tenth of the women are not officially married. Despite the fact that more than half of women in this group work during their leave for childcare, these families have quite a low property, housing and financial security. Cultural needs, as well as practice of everyday life of mothers expecting their children to be obedient, are much more simplified in comparison to the other groups of mothers. They rarely read books, they are not interested in art, music and theater, the share of those engaged in self-education is insignificant. A distinctive feature of this group is low self-esteem of the levels of expressive maternal and instrumental qualities. The family history of one-third of mothers in this group features aloofness and coldness in parent-child relationships, reproduced by mothers in the process of relationships with their own children.

Mothers from group focused on the value of “C”, account for almost half of the sample (47.0%). They are also young, but more educated compared to the group of women aimed at the value “O”. More than a third of them have a higher education, and half of them have a vocational secondary education. Despite the fact that more than a third of mothers in this group characterized their families as poor, they, compared to the group focused on “O”, have a good property security. Apparently, these families are characterized by close ties and warm relations with the older generations, since a quarter of families receive financial support from their parents and relatives. They are also more likely to be eligible to state family and child allowances. Members of such families are involved in the labor market of commercial companies, which ensures a higher income of families. But the high dependency load and a larger number of children do not allow families to get into the group of families with a higher income. At the same time, despite the decline in family income during a maternity leave, mothers can spend more time on upbringing of their

children. Families of this group have more stable family relationships. Most of the women in this group said that they are officially married. Mothers focused on instilling curiosity in children highly appreciate the level of development of their expressive maternal and instrumental qualities. They rated themselves the highest, compared to the others, in terms of flexibility and a desire to meet to requirements of the rapidly changing world. They are characterized by richer cultural practices, including reading modern and classical literature and self-education.

A third of the respondents are aimed at instilling sociability in children (28.8%). They appeared to be most mature, educated and affluent. Their families are more likely to have both a high income and a high consumer status, on the one hand, and significant property security, on the other hand. Three-quarters of families from this group are nuclear. Only a small part of them is supported by the older generation. Most likely, this is due to the fact that they need help less than others. More than half the women in this group are housewives, which is apparently due to a conscious refusal from the professional employment in favor of parenthood and raising a child in the period of early childhood. Mothers aimed at instilling sociability in children appeared to be the most versatile in their interests. They read a lot, are engaged in self-education, a healthy lifestyle, involved in intellectual practices requiring significant financial investments. Three times more often than others, these women visit exhibitions and theater performances, go to the philharmonic, concerts, movies, are interested in art and painting. They are characterized by the highest estimation of the qualities that contribute to professional achievements - proactiveness, entrepreneurship, competitiveness, willingness to take risks.

We operationalized cultural resources of families, first of all, as value orientations of education, including purposes and qualities that must be instilled in children, secondly, as those important for the mother knowledge, skills, abilities, cultural competences, crucial for the education of children, and thirdly, as cultural patterns and practices of child rearing. Differences in cultural resources are largely due to financial inability, characteristic of representatives of the less affluent families, to travel, do sports, go to the pool, visit the theater and the philharmonic, concerts and movies. This is proved by the fact that practices not requiring constant investments are approximately equally represented in answers of respondents from all three groups. The percentage of people using internet resources and communicating in blogs, and those who sew and knit appeared to be approximately equal in all the groups. At the same time, differences are also connected with a lower level of education, absence of reading traditions in the parental home, reduced needs for personal growth, self-development, typical of representatives of the groups choosing obedience as the dominant value of family education.

On the whole, resulting differences are explained by both objective factors characteristic for women from the group focused on instilling obedience - a lower level of education, qualifications, financial situation, small social experience, less intensive cultural practices, and by subjective characteristics - a lower self-esteem, self-doubt, insufficient personal maturity. The culture of relations in the parent family appears to have a formulating influence on the personality of mothers. An emotional contact with parents (first of all, with the mother) and their support positively affect the development of self-concept, research motivation, stable relations with others. These relations have more than once been described by psychologists, and are most convincingly classified in the context of Bowlby's theory of attachment. In their rearing practice, mothers, consciously or unconsciously, reproduce adopted models of parent-child relationships. A weak self-analysis of their experience, a lack of attention to rearing serve as barriers to self-development of educational competence among a certain part of mothers.

Thus, a poorer in terms of quality and volume of cultural resources cultural capital of mothers focused on values of obedience does not contribute to involvement of family members in the context of the modern life. At the same time, low self-esteem of emotionally significant maternal qualities such as love for children, the ability to take care of family, empathy can be explained by not fully realized parental and personal potential, social immaturity of women, insufficient family and social support.

In our opinion, there are three areas of correction of social and cultural attitudes and parenting strategies. Active education of parents, support for young parents in their role, primary prevention programs, development of cooperative relations of specialists and parents, education in the media are realistic measures that can contribute to improvement of family education on condition of their wide availability, including through development of civil society institutions, parent communities (Bezrukova & Samoylova, 2013; Bezrukova & Samoylova, 2015; Kostromina & Moskvicheva, 2015). Creation of public spaces in cities for sharing family leisure activities taking into account the needs of development of children and interests of parents, rich in positive emotions, promoting involvement in modern parenting practices, available and free to all social classes and, first of all, to the poor and socially vulnerable groups. Involving parents in the context of the modern information field of parenting, social networks of parental and expert communities, forums for young parents, on-line communities of fathers and mothers

will also contribute to building up competencies for effective parenting.

5. Conclusion

The results of the study suggest the following conclusions. The complexity and nonlinearity of the modern society actualize the importance of instilling in children qualities contributing to an active social adaptation of a person. However, a significant percentage of Russian mothers are focused on instilling values of obedience at the expense of curiosity and sociability. There is influence of inequality in provision of mothers with various resources for instilling in children values that contribute to successful adaptation in a complex society. Mothers developing curiosity and sociability in children have richer cultural resources. They are also characterized by a more positive self-image. All this leads to the conclusion that mothers pass on experience of their relationships with their own parents in upbringing of children.

A high level of education of parents, family well-being, emotional support and strong intergenerational relations contribute to accumulation of cultural resources of motherhood. At the same time, improvement of material conditions of life, reduction of professional load do not always have a direct positive effect on the cultural capital of mothers. Motivating factors play a significant role - the mother's need for personal growth, development of educational competence. Active education of parents, as well as creation of urban public spaces, involvement of parents in on-line parents and expert community, is particularly crucial.

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